

Message Text

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E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT:SPECIAL SUMMARY NUMBER 10: TELEGRAPHIC SUMMARY

PORTUGAL - SUMMARY

COMMUNIST LEADER ALVARO CUNHAL PROPOSED AUGUST 28
AN URGENT MEETING OF THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN
FACTIONS INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT, THE PROVISIONAL
GOVERNMENT, THE AFM'S REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, RIVAL
FACTIONS IN THE MILITARY AND REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ITS ALLIES, AND THE SOCIALIST
PARTY (LEAVING OUT THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS WHO ARE
APPARENTLY TOO CONSERVATIVE FOR THE COMMUNISTS.
CUNHAL SAID THAT SUCH A MEETING WAS NECESSARY
"TO AVOID A VIOLENT FRATRICIDAL CONFRONTATION."
CUNHAL'S PROPOSAL FOLLOWED AN EARLIER MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES, AND COULD REPRESENT A "BLINK"
IN THE FACE OF CONFRONTATION OR MORE LIKELY A CALL
FOR COMPROMISE WHEN SUCH COMPROMISE WOULD BENEFIT
THE COMMUNISTS. THE FIGURE NOW MOST FREQUENTLY
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MENTIONED AS A COMPROMISE REPLACEMENT FOR GONCALVES
IS ADMIRAL PINHEIRO AZEVEDO, WHOM "MODERATES"
FEAR WOULD BE MALLEABLE IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNISTS.
AZEVEDO PROCLAIMS VAGUELY LEFTIST IDEOLOGY, IS PROBABLY

NOT SO DIRECTLY INFLUENCED BY THE PCP, BUT IS LIKELY SOME ONE THE COMMUNISTS COULD WORK WITH. THE THREE-MAN DIRECTORATE MET UNTIL 4 A.M. AUGUST 29 ALONG WITH COMMANDERS OF THE THREE SERVICES, BUT NO RESULTS WERE ANNOUNCED.

THE COMMANDER OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY REGION COMMAND IN COIMBRA, GENERAL CHARAIS, WHO SIGNED THE ANTUNES MANIFESTO, ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE ON AUGUST 29 CONDEMNING THE ATTEMPTS OF POLITICAL FORCES TO MANIPULATE THE PEOPLE AND THE DISRESPECT DEMONSTRATED FOR COSTA GOMES AT THE LEFTIST FRONT DEMONSTRATION OF AUGUST 27. CHARAIS CONCLUDED WITH A CLEAR THREAT: "THE COMMAND OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY REGION...UNDERSTANDS THE FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE IN ITS AREA...HAS BEEN PREPARING ITS UNITS SO THAT THEY CAN INSURE THAT A TOTALITARIAN REGIME IS NEVER AGAIN ESTABLISHED IN PORTUGAL." CHARAIS' STATEMENT FOLLOWED THE CENTRAL REGION'S DEMONSTRATION OF FORCE ON AUGUST 28 WHEN IT ESTABLISHED ROADBLOCKS.

GENERAL CORVACHO, THE PRO-GONCALVES FORMER COMMANDER OF THE NORTHERN MILITARY REGION WHO GAVE UP HIS POST UNDER PRESSURE LITTLE MORE THAN A WEEK AGO, HAS NOT RETURNED TO POST. IT NOW APPEARS UNLIKELY THAT HE WILL RETURN TO POST, AND EQUALLY UNLIKELY THAT HIS FORMER TROOPS WOULD OBEY HIM IF HE DID.

DEMARCHES:

THE DUTCH AMBASSADOR SAW COSTA GOMES LATE AUGUST 27 AND MADE STRONG PITCH. DESPITE THE PRESIDENT'S LACK OF ANY POSITIVE REACTION, THE AMBASSADOR FELT HIS DEMARCHE WAS "USEFUL." PARIS HAS DECIDED AGAINST MAKING A DEMARCHE IN LISBON--BECAUSE OF CONCERN COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED PORTUGUESE PRESS WOULD EXPLOIT IT TO DISADVANTAGES OF MODERATES--BUT WILL CALL IN GOP SECRET

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AMBASSADOR EARLY NEXT WEEK. WE HAVE NO REPORT AS YET ON PROMISED DEMARCHES BY BRITISH AND ITALIANS.

LATEST DEVELOPMENT:

LATE AFTERNOON AUGUST 29 NAVAL CHIEF PINHEIRO AZEVEDO BECAME PRIME MINISTER AND GONCALVES MOVED OVER TO BECOME CHIEF OF STAFF OF ARMED FORCES - POST FOR WHICH HE BARGAINED IN EARLIER NEGOTIATIONS.

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2. PERU: SOVIET INVOLVEMENT?

MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERIA TOLD AMBASSADOR JOVA THAT DURING A RECENT VISIT TO HAVANA CASTRO SAID THAT HE EXPECTED A CHANGE TO TAKE PLACE SOON IN PERU DUE TO VELASCO ALVARADO'S HEALTH. HE SPOKE OF PERUVIAN COUP LEADER MORALES BERMUDEZ AS "A MAN OF THE FUTURE WELL WORTH WATCHING." ECHEVERIA SAID THAT THE FACT THAT "IN THE CLOSED ATMOSPHERE OF HAVANA" CASTRO AND OTHERS HAD SPOKEN SO GLOWINGLY OF MORALES BERMUDEZ MADE HIM SUSPICIOUS THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME SOVIET INVOLVEMENT. ALTHOUGH WIRE SERVICE REPORTS HAVE DESCRIBED MORALES BERMUDEZ AS A "MODERATE," HE CANNOT HELP BUT THINK THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY TAKE A SHARP TURN TO THE LEFT. ECHEVERIA WISHED THE SECRETARY BE INFORMED OF HIS THOUGHTS.

(SEE ITEM 2 OF INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY)

3. ARABS PRESSURE ZAIRE TO REVERSE ITS STANCE ON ISRAEL

SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER BISENGIMANA TOLD CHARGE WALKER THAT THE ARABS, LED BY ALGERIA, HAVE TIED FUTURE OIL DELIVERIES TO CASH PAYMENTS BUT OFFERED TO LIFT THE RESTRICTION IF ZAIRE REVERSES ITS STANCE TOWARD ISRAEL. UNWILLING TO BOW TO ARAB PRESSURE:

--ZAIRE IS NEGOTIATING WITH MOBIL FOR CRUDE SUPPLIES.

--IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, THE NECESSARY BANK GUARANTEES CAN
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BE ARRANGED, MOBIL WILL BE ABLE TO BEGIN DELIVERIES IN ABOUT ONE MONTH.

4. IRANIAN ARMS TRANSFERS: DOING IT RIGHT

DESPITE THE SHAH'S UNDERSTANDING OF AND INTENTION TO COMPLY WITH US REGULATIONS ON THIRD COUNTRY ARMS TRANSFERS AND THE EMBASSY'S REPEATED EFFORTS TO EDUCATE GOI OFFICIALS, THE EMBASSY IS NOT ENTIRELY SATISFIED BECAUSE:

--IRAN FEELS COMPELLED TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO REQUESTS FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM ITS POORER NEIGHBORS, PARTICULARLY JORDAN AND PAKISTAN.

--THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE IRANIAN MILITARY MAY RESULT IN UNINTENTIONAL VIOLATIONS BY INEXPERIENCED OFFICERS.

EMBASSY TEHRAN SUGGESTS OUR EMBASSIES IN AMMAN AND ISLAMABAD APPROACH SENIOR OFFICIALS TO EXPLAIN THE DANGERS INHERENT IN QUIETLY ARRANGED IRANIAN TRANSFERS AND OFFER ASSISTANCE IN INITIATING THE PROPER PROCEDURES.

5. PALESTINIANS INVOLVED IN LATEST LEBANESE FIGHTINGS?

EMBASSY BEIRUT REPORTS THAT THE LEBANESE ARE DOWNPLAYING REPORTS ABOUT POSSIBLE PALESTINIAN INVOLVEMENT IN FIGHTING WHICH BROKE OUT IN ZAHLE ON AUGUST 24. WHILE THE SITUATION IN BOTH ZAHLE AND BEIRUT IS UNDER CONTROL, TENSIONS REMAIN HIGH.

6. SPAIN: CORTINA ON THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS

FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA HAS TOLD AMBASSADOR STABLER THAT THE CONCLUSION OF A NEW BASE AGREEMENT WITH SPAIN WOULD BEST BE FACILITATED BY A MEETING BETWEEN HIMSELF AND THE SECRETARY. REITERATING THAT THE ENTIRE NEGOTIATION HINGES ON THE QUESTION OF A "NEW DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP," CORTINA STRESSED THAT:

--HE IS WILLING TO HAVE ANOTHER ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE HE SEES THE SECRETARY, PROVIDED IT TAKES PLACE
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ABOUT SEPTEMBER 10 FOLLOWED BY A MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY ON OR ABOUT SEPTEMBER 15.

--IF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT LAPSES, THE USG AND SPAIN SHOULD ANNOUNCE THAT THE APPLICATION OF ARTICLE 39 (WHICH CALLS FOR THE COMMENCEMENT OF IMMEDIATE TROOP WITHDRAWAL) WILL BE LINKED TO THE PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS.

--IF NO NEW AGREEMENT IS FORTHCOMING TWO MONTHS AFTER THE CURRENT ONE LAPSES, THERE WILL BE A TEN-MONTH PERIOD FOR WITHDRAWAL.

--WHATEVER PROBLEMS THE US EXECUTIVE MAY HAVE WITH CONGRESS, THESE ARE NOT PROPER CONCERNS OF THE GOS.

AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT: ALTHOUGH I RECOGNIZE THE PRESSURE ON THE SECRETARY'S TIME, I NOW BELIEVE THAT A MEETING WITH CORTINA FOLLOWING AN EARLY NEXT ROUND SHOULD TAKE PLACE. CORTINA IS QUITE PREPARED TO MAKE A SPECIAL TRIP TO THE US FOR THIS PURPOSE AND HAS PERSUADED THE GOS THAT A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME DEPENDS ON A PERSONAL MEETING.

7. CYPRUS: AMBASSADOR MEETS WITH SENATOR PELL

SENATOR PELL TOLD AMBASSADOR CRAWFORD IN CONFIDENCE THAT THOSE IN CONGRESS WHO OPPOSE RESUMPTION OF AID TO TURKEY NOW ESTIMATE THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SUSTAIN THE BAN WHEN THE ISSUE COMES BEFORE THE HOUSE. THE SENATOR IS CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT ANY VOTE ON THE ISSUE BEFORE THE SEPTEMBER 8-9 CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW YORK

MIGHT HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON THOSE TALKS HE HAS APPARENTLY SET ABOUT TO ATTAIN A SHORT TACTICAL DELAY IN CONSIDERATION OF THE EMBARGO.

8. THAI STRESS BASE CLOSURES OVER TROOP DRAWDOWN

EMBASSY BANGKOK SUGGESTS THAT THAI DECLARATIONS THAT ALL US FORCES MUST LEAVE THAILAND BY MARCH 1976 WERE A RESPONSE TO WHAT THAILAND CONSIDERED AN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL IMPERATIVE. HOWEVER, SKEPTICISM BORN OUT
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OF RECENT EVENTS IN INDOCHINA HAS TEMPERED THIS POLICY:

--THE THAI WILL ACCEPT A NONCOMBAT US MILITARY PRESENCE WHICH APPEARS NOT TO THREATEN THAILAND'S NEIGHBORS.

--FAILURE TO MEET THE MARCH DEADLINE FOR COMBAT TROOP WITHDRAWAL WOULD PROVOKE REACTIONS FROM NATIONALISTS ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM.

--SINCE CONGRESS HAS PROHIBITED US COMBAT ACTIVITY IN INDOCHINA, THE THAI BELIEVE IT LOGICAL THAT THE US SHOULD CONSOLIDATE IN THE BASES IT STILL OCCUPIES RATHER THAN SEEK TO SPREAD OUT AMONG A NUMBER OF BASES FOR PURPOSES WHICH ARE UNCLEAR.

9. VIDELA APPOINTMENT EASES ARGENTINA'S CRISIS

EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES REPORTS THAT ARGENTINIANS HAVE BREATHED A COLLECTIVE SIGH OF RELIEF FOLLOWING GENERAL VIDELA'S APPOINTMENT AS CHIEF OF STAFF. MILITARY PRESSURE ON THE GOVERNMENT HAS SUBSIDED, AND MOST OBSERVERS EXPECT THE ARMY WILL QUIETLY RETURN TO THE BARRACKS.

10. IRELAND'S DE VALERA DIES

EMBASSY DUBLIN REPORTS THAT FORMER IRISH PRESIDENT DE VALERA DIED IN DUBLIN AT NOON AUGUST 29. THE FUNERAL WILL PROBABLY BE HELD SEPTEMBER 2. INGERSOLL

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